

STATE PAPERS

Hist. of Sweed. Denmark vol 2.

RELATING THE

CHANGE of the CONSTITUTION

OF

S W E D E N: K

CONTAINING

The several SPEECHES of His SWEDISH MAJESTY,
and of the SPEAKERS of the several ORDERS;

The FORM of GOVERNMENT, established
August the 21st, 1772.

Ec. Ec. Ec. Ec.

CORRECTLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

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STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

CHANGE of the CONSTITUTION

OF

NEW YORK

CONTAINING

The several Amendments of the Constitution

and other Documents of the Convention

The Form of the Constitution



NEW YORK

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

ALBANY

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[The Constitution of the State of New York]

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THE

T H E
SPEECH of the KING of *Sweden*,

To the **S T A T E S**,

Assembled in the Great Hall at **STOCK-**
HOLM, *August 21, 1772.*

Nobles, and People of Sweden, &c. &c.

INwardly fill'd with the most true concern
for the situation of our Parent Country,
and under the necessity that I am to lay the
truth in open day before you; since the realm
stands upon the very brink of its destruc-
tion; you must not wonder that you are not
received by me this day, with the same heart-
felt joy which has at other times attended
your assemblies before the throne. My heart
does not upbraid me with having conceal'd
any thing from you: Twice have I spoken to
you with all the truth which my office
demanded; and all the sincerity which
true honour requir'd. The same sincerity
shall now conduct my Speech: in which the
past must be recapitulated, in order to set
right the present.

It is a melancholy, but a well known truth, that hatred and discord have torn the realm: The people have been a long time sever'd by two parties; divided as it were into two separate nations, united only in the mangling of their Parent Country. You know how this discord has produced rancour; rancour revenge; revenge persecution; and persecution new revolutions; which grew at last into a periodical disease; disfiguring and humiliating the whole commonwealth. Such commotions have shook the realm, for the sake of a few people's ambition: Streams of blood have flow'd; pour'd out sometimes by one party, and sometimes by another: and always the people have been sacrific'd to quarrels, in the event of which themselves had very little concern; but whose unfortunate consequences they were sure to feel the first, and most. The only end of the rulers has been to fortify their own power: all has of necessity been adapted to that purpose: often at the expence of their fellow-citizens; always at that of their country. Where the law was clear, the letter of it has been perverted: where it was palpably repugnant, it has been broken thro'. Nothing has been sacred to a people inflamed with hatred and revenge: and the seeds of confusion have in the end been spread so far, it has become a declared opinion, that a majority is above law;

law; and owns no restraint but its own pleasure.

Thus liberty, the noblest of the rights of men, has been transform'd into an insupportable aristocratical tyranny, in the hands of the ruling party; which was itself enslav'd, and led at pleasure by a very small number of its body. The notice of a new Assembly of the States, has made every one tremble: Far from considering how the affairs of the nation might be best transacted, they have been only busied in getting together a majority for their party; that they might be skreen'd from the insolence and lawless violence of the other. If the interior situation of the realm stood thus endanger'd; how hideous was its external aspect! I blush to speak about it: Born a Swede, and a King of Sweden, it should be an impossibility for me to believe that foreign schemes could govern Swedish men: Nay more, that the very basest means should have been employ'd for that purpose. You know what 'tis I mean: My blushes ought to make you deeply sensible *into what contempt the kingdom has been thrown by your quarrels.*

Such was the situation wherein I found this kingdom, when I received, by the decrees of the Divine Providence, the Swedish Scepter. Your heart will tell you I

have spared no pains to unite you: In all my speeches from the throne, and on all other occasions, I have insisted upon concord; and submission to the law: I have given up as well what might concern me as a Man, as what might be dear to me, as a King. I have held no obligations too difficult to submit to, no steps too rugged to pass, in order to reach an end so valuable to my Parent Country. If there be one among you who can deny this solemn truth, let him freely stand up, and speak.

I form'd a hope that these endeavours on my part would have released you from those chains which foreign gold, intestine hatred, and avowed licentiousness, were on the point to fix upon you: and that the hideous examples of other countries thus enslav'd, might have afforded you a threatening warning: but all has been in vain. You have been misguided on one part by your leaders; and on the other, inflam'd by your private animosities. All fences have been trampled to the earth; all stipulations broken; licentiousness has had its free course; and has run on with the more violence, the more pains have been taken to check it. The most virtuous, the most deserving, the first, and highest of your fellow-citizens, have been sacrific'd: Veterans in office, men of known capacity, and long try'd faith, have been

been degraded; whole magistracies have been suspended; nay, even the people crush'd: their just complaints have been tortur'd into sedition: and liberty itself at length transformed into an aristocratic yoke, no Swede can bear. Even the Most High has appear'd in anger at the unrighteousness of those who govern'd: The earth refused its natural increase; and famine and distress fell heavy on the whole country. Yet even then; far from endeavouring at a timely remedy; when I insisted on such measures, you appear'd more attentive to exert your own vengeance, than to find means of relief for your Constituents: nor could necessity itself oblige you to look into the distresses of a miserable people, till it was very, *very* near too late. In this manner was a whole year spent, under one Dyet; burthensome to the country; yet destitute of any good effect. My representations to you prov'd all in vain; all my endeavours fruitless. I waited in silence, full of grief for the distresses of my country, to see what the nation would think of this conduct of its Representatives, toward me, and toward themselves. Part have submitted to the tyranny, with sighs; but in silence, not knowing where help could be found, or by what means to seek it: Despair has seiz'd one corner of the kingdom; and there they have taken up arms.

In

In this situation, when the whole country, when true liberty, and just security (not to speak of the danger of my own life) when all was thus at stake, I saw no other way, next after the assistance of the Divine Providence, but to apply to those measures which have freed other generous, and resolute nations; and which formerly freed Sweden herself, from unsufferable violence and oppression, under the conduct of Gustavus Vasa. God has been pleased to bless my undertaking: and I have seen that zeal for their country, which formerly glow'd in the hearts of Engelbrecht, and Gustavus Erickson, revive at once in the minds of my people. All has succeeded happily; and I have sav'd my Parent Country, and myself, without injury to one single fellow-citizen.

You are greatly mistaken if you believe here has been any other aim, but liberty, and law. I have promis'd to govern a free people; this vow is more sacred as it was voluntary; and what has happened shall never lead me from a purpose, which was not founded merely on necessity; but also on conviction. Far from affecting liberty; it is licentiousness I shall destroy; and, with it, that arbitrary sway with which this country has been rul'd: transforming all into an orderly, and settled government; such as the
ancient

ancient Swedish laws establish ; and such as Sweden before enjoyed under my greatest Predecessors.

This is the purpose I have had in view, in all that now is doing : to establish a true liberty, which alone can render you, my dear subjects, a happy people ; by security, under the law, and by the law, in all your possessions ; by the exercise of all honest professions : by an impartial distribution of justice ; by regular order in cities, and throughout the country ; by careful endeavours to promote the common good ; by giving to every one the enjoyment of it, in peace and safety ; and, to crown all, by a true piety, free from hypocrisy, and superstition. All this can be obtained alone by establishing for the government of the kingdom, a fixed, unalterable Law ; whose very letter must not be perverted : which must bind not the King alone, but must bind in the same manner also the States ; and which must be incapable of being repealed or altered, otherwise than by the free consent of both : which shall permit a Sovereign, zealous for the prosperity of his country, to confer with the States, without their looking on him as an object of terror : and which finally shall unite together the King and the States, in one common interest ; the welfare of the kingdom.

Such

Such a law, as binding to myself as you, is that which I shall now direct to be read before you.

You will perceive easily, by all I now have spoken, that far from following any private views, all has been done for the sake of the country; and if I have been compell'd to display before you Truth, in its full light, I have done it, not in animosity; but only out of regard to your real welfare. I doubt not therefore you will receive all with thanks; and that we shall together, by these means, lay a substantial and firm foundation for your true happiness and liberty.

Great Kings, immortal in their fame, have sway'd the Sceptre I now hold. It would be the highest presumption in me to aim at a resemblance of them: yet in my zeal and love for you I emulate them all: and if you wear the same heart with me, for our Parent Country, I hope the Swedish name will regain that honour and respect which it acquired in the years of our Ancestors.

The Almighty God, from whom nothing is hid, sees my heart, and all its secret thoughts this moment. May he shower down his grace and blessing on your determinations!

THE

THE
FORM of GOVERNMENT

ESTABLISHED BY THE
KING, and the STATES,

At STOCKHOLM, *August 21, 1772.*

BY the grace of God, GUSTAVUS King of Sweden, Gothia and Wandalia, Heir of Norway, Duke of Sleswig, Holstein, &c. &c. Be it known, that whereas, from the beginning of our reign, We have constantly employed our kingly power and authority to the support, the strength, and the prosperity of the kingdom; and to the advancement, security, and welfare of our loyal subjects; and whereas We, in order to the obtaining of this, have graciously found the present situation of our Parent Country require, that an amendment of the fundamental laws, adapted to the before-mentioned most useful ends, was absolutely necessary: and therefore have, after the most mature consideration and enquiries, conceived a form, for the conducting and governing the kingdom; which

which the States of the Realm, now assembled, have receiv'd unanimously, and upon their oath. We also do graciously confirm, strengthen, and support this form of Government; agreed to by all the States of the Realm, in the manner as word for word hereafter follows.

We the underwritten Senators, and States of Sweden, Counts, Barons, Bishops, Nobility, Clergy, Military-Deputies, Burgeffes, and Community, now here assembled, do make it known for us, and our Brethren at home, that whereas We, by a dreadful experience, have found that under the name of a noble Liberty, several of our fellow-citizens have erected themselves into a dominion, which has become so much the more insupportable, as it arose under licentiousness, has established itself by self-interest, and severe measures; and has finally been supported by foreign power, and influence; to the distress of the whole community; which had thrown us into the greatest hazards, by means of a wrong interpretation of the laws; and in the end might have brought upon the Realm, (the dear Parent Country of us all,) those dreadful calamities, which records of former times, and the examples of our neighbours shew us; if a fervency and love for their country in zealous fellow-citizens, supported by the
zeal

zeal and endeavours of the most potent Prince Gustavus III. King of Sweden, Gothia and Wandalia, &c. &c. most gracious King, and Lord of all of us, had not snatch'd and saved us from it: therefore We have considered how to fortify our Liberty in such a manner that it may not be violated by an enterprizing Prince, ill-minded toward the country; or by ambitious, self-interested, and treacherous fellow-citizens; and outrageous, and haughty enemies: In order that the ancient Swedish and Gothish Realms might perpetually remain a free, independent kingdom; We therefore have consented to, and established, as We now, by this, do declare and establish, this Form of Government to be a fixed and sacred fundamental law; which We, for us, and our posterity, as well born as unborn, bind ourselves to fulfil, to follow its literal contents, and look on him or them as enemies to our country who should attempt to lead us to deviate from it; just as it word by word here follows.

§ I.

As concord in Religion, and the true worship of God, are the most firm foundation of a laudable, unanimous, and lasting Government; therefore the King, as well as all officers of State, and Subjects, in this
king-

kingdom, shall hereafter, as before, first and chiefly hold the pure and clear word of God, as it is contained in the Prophetical and Apostolical Writings, and in Christian Symbols*; the Catechism of Luther, as explain'd in the unaltered Ausburgical Confession, and in the Council at Upsal, and former Publick Acts and Declarations, is stipulated, on that head; so that the right of the Church may be supported, without prejudice to any of the prerogatives of the King, the Crown, or the People.

§ 2.

The King is to govern his kingdom as the Swedish law declares; he, and no other: to support, love, and guard Right and Truth; to prohibit, remove, and suppress whatsoever is wrong, or unjust: he is to despoil no person of his life, or limbs, and honour, and welfare, unless he be legally convicted and sentenced; to deprive no person, or cause to be deprived, of any goods, moveable, or immoveable, without legal trial and sentence; and to govern the realm after the *King's Chapter* †, the Land's-lagen Law, and this present Form of Government.

* Symbolis.

† The ancient Swedish law was engraved in separate tables, or chapters, called in the Swedish *Balck*, *Konunga Balcken*,

§ 3.

The order of succession to the Crown remains entirely by the Act of Settlement, as it was resolved and determined upon at Stockholm, Anno 1743; and according as the Act of Settlement at Westeras 1544; and the decree of Norköping, in the year 1604, stipulate and contain.

§ 4.

Next after the King's Majesty, the greatest reverence has, from ancient times, been shewn, and shall hereafter be shewn, to the Senators of the Realm; which the King alone is to select and chuse, from among the native Swedish Nobility, and Gentry, who are bound to the King, and to the kingdom, in allegiance, trust, and succour: And whereas these cannot be fixed to any certain number; because so many are to be appointed, as the necessity and honour of the kingdom may require; those in ordinary are to be seventeen; including the high officers of State, and the Governor General of Pomerania.

Their purpose and endeavour shall be to advise his Majesty in all important transactions and business of the State, when they are consulted about it by the King; to con-

firm all the rights of the kingdom, advise him what is most useful for himself, and for the Realm, to the best of their knowledge; to confirm the States, and the Commonalty, in their fidelity and loyalty; always to take care of the right, dignity, independence, benefit, and welfare of the King, and of the kingdom: and consequently (as the decree of the Dyet 1602 mentions) they are to advise as their office requires; but not to govern. In all things else the Senators are only bound to the King, and responsible to him alone for their counsels; yet cannot the King upbraid them with, or lay to their charge, any unfortunate event, which may have happened contrary to their wishes, expectation, thought, and well-founded opinions: particularly if in the execution, good counsels should not reach their proposed ends, thro' the fault of those whose business it was, and who had been ordered, to execute and transact.

§ 5.

The King is to rule and govern, save and protect, the towns and countries, and all his own, and all the Crown's right, as the law and this form of Government directs.

§ 6.

Whereas transactions about peace, armistice

tice or alliance, offensive or defensive, seldom will admit of the least delay; and absolutely require the greatest secrecy: His Majesty therefore upon those capital occasions, deliberates with the Senators; and having heard and considered their opinions, he takes those measures, and uses those expedients, which himself finds to be the best and most useful to his Crown, and to the Realm: if in matters of such consequence, all the Senators should unanimously agree in an opinion that is contrary to his Majesty's, then his Majesty will suffer things to be determin'd according to the opinion of the Senators: but should their opinions be different, then his Majesty considers, and chuses the opinion he judges to be the best, and most useful.

§ 7.

If a King of Sweden should be a foreigner, he is not to go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and consent of the States. But when he is a Swede, and native of the country, he only communicates such intention to the Senate, and asks their opinion and advice, as is prescribed, and as the 6th Stipulation mentions.

§ 8.

And in order that all the several af-

fairs and undertakings of the State, which are laid before his Majesty, may be executed with so much the greater order and dispatch, the business is to be distributed among the Senators, in the manner as it shall appear to the King most useful and expedient; his Majesty, as the head of the whole kingdom, being accountable to God, and the country alone, for his Government: and in all these matters, after the King has heard those of the Senators opinions, who are acquainted with the objects under consideration, and whom the King has selected for that purpose, his Majesty has the casting voice: only from this are excepted all matters of law: (*causæ juridicæ.*) These are to be try'd at the High Courts of Justice, the Military Courts, and the other Tribunals in the kingdom, and afterwards fall under the final decision of the Great Court of Revision of Justice; which always is to consist of Seven Senators, who have before been employ'd in law offices, and are known to be men of integrity and experience; and where the King himself, now as before, assists: having there only two votes; and in the case of parity of votes, the casting voice.

§ 9.

The King is entitled, and he only, to pardon and restore honour, life, and effects, in

in all criminal cases; where it is not manifestly inconsistent with the clear word of God.

§ 10.

All the high employments from Lieutenant Colonel to Field Marshal, both inclusively taken; and all of equal Rank in the Church as well as in the State, are disposed of by the King in Sitting Senate, in the following manner; namely, When a vacancy happens, the Senators are obliged to make themselves acquainted with the abilities and merits of all those persons who are candidates for such places of consequence; and who can come into expectation of them; and to give an account of it to the King: after this, the King declares in the Senate, whom his Majesty has been pleased to fix upon to be advanced to the vacant employment: then those Senators may declare their opinions; but not proceed to voting. To fill all other employments, three the most capable and deserving persons, and best suited to the nature of the post, that can be found, are to be presented to his Majesty by the several boards or departments, to whom the office belongs: one or other of these may be a person not belonging to the recommending Board; and all other competent candidates for the vacant post are also to be nam'd. In the army all is to proceed

in the presentation to preferments, according to an Act of King Charles XII. of the 6th of November, 1716. Should it be found that at those presentations, any person has suffered wrong, or been past over without reason, then the persons to whom they belong'd are to be answerable for it. Among the candidates, his Majesty chooses whom he thinks the most proper. But all the inferior employments that the Courts, Boards, Consistories, Colonels of Regiments, and all other Bodies, have been used to give away before the year 1680, are now and hereafter, left to their own particular disposition. No foreigners, be they Dukes, Princes, or other persons whatsoever, may ever hereafter be employ'd or invested with any public employment, either in the Civil, or the Military departments, his Majesty's court only excepted; unless when they can by eminent and great abilities and qualities do signal honour and remarkable advantage to the Realm. To all these employments, capacity, and experience, shall advance men, without regard to favour, or birth; when these are not joined to ability. With respect to the choice of Archbishops, Bishops, and Superintendants*, it is to remain upon the same footing as has been heretofore; the

* Three of the Dioceses in Sweden have Superintendants, not Bishops.

King only fixes upon one of the three, that have been duly presented to him: Rectors* are to be appointed exactly as it is stipulated by the Form of Government 1720, and other Acts that have afterwards been published and confirmed, concerning the same.

§ 11.

The King alone has the right of ennobling those who by fidelity, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themselves well deserving of his Majesty, and the Realm: but as the number of the Nobility in Sweden is very great, his Majesty will be pleased to confine this number within one hundred and fifty; which one hundred and fifty new families the Nobility have no power to refuse admission into their house: neither can the Nobility refuse admission to those Noblemen the King has been pleased to favour with the title and honour of Count or Baron; and who have made themselves well deserving of it by great and particular merits.

§ 12.

All matters not here above excepted, are to be laid before his Majesty in the Closet, or in one of the divisions of the Senate, if

* Kyrkoherdar.

it appears to his Majesty to be more convenient ; or if his Majesty should desire to take the opinions of several of the Senators upon it : but yet it is even then to be considered as if transacted in the Closet.

§ 13.

Whereas the kingdom is extensive, the matters many, and of greater consequence than that the King can possibly execute every thing himself ; he therefore requires many officers and deputies to assist him.

§ 14.

For the more diligent and expeditious administration, and forwarding of the public business, certain Boards are appointed ; which in the manner of arms to the body, extend themselves to every thing that is to be done, and executed in the kingdom. They have right and authority each of them officially, and by virtue of their commission, to exert a power over their subordinates ; to remind those who are under their care and direction in performing of their duty, to require accounts of their several administrations, and to give his Majesty concerning that, as well as their own transactions, all the information that is necessary and desired.

§ 15.

§ 15. In the High Court of Justice, which is the King's supreme jury *, there is a President, who, by knowledge of the law, has made himself fit for the office of a Judge: and he has for assistants a Vice-President, and the usual Counsellors of Justice, and Assessors. The several Courts of Law are each within their jurisdiction, to inspect and cause that Law and Justice may be duly and well administered according to the written Swedish Law, its Acts and Ordinances; which, without torturing their sense, are to be observed in the just and true meaning of the words, and followed in pronouncing sentence: that, thus these High Courts of Justice, without advantage, self-interest, or other considerations, may do right to every person, as they shall be able to answer for it before God, and his Majesty; so that injustice may not destroy the land, and the kingdom. No Nobleman can upon such informations, as affect his life and honour, be condemned by any other Court but by the High Courts of Justice; entirely as the privileges and Act, called, Process of Jus-

* Konungens högsta Namnd. In Sweden the King is considered as the Judge, and the Courts as a Jury, who deliver to his Majesty their verdict of opinion.

tice, Anno 1615, order, establish, and direct : yet so, that the trial be had upon the spot, and that no other criminal matters, than what concern life and honour, may be drawn under it. It belongs likewise to the High Courts of Justice, closely to inspect the inferior Judges in the country and towns, as well as the several Officers of Justice : and when thro' imprudence, inattention, or avarice, any fault is committed by them, they are, according to the particular nature of each case, to try, sentence, and punish them immediately ; but if any is found intentionally, thro' hatred, ill-will, or a passion for bribes, to have misapplied the law, and thus wounded his conscience, and hurt his neighbour, to his life, honour, and welfare, such a one is not to be suffered to compound for his iniquity and malice with fines, or the loss of his office ; but with the loss of his life and honour, according to the nature of the case, and entirely according to the Swedish law. Neither are such crimes to be silenced by connivance, or to be forgiven thro' an unseasonable pity ; that in matters of so nice a nature, others may not be induced licentiously to misuse Justice ; when they see that well merited resentment and punishment falls upon such faults, misdemeanors, and wickedness. On the other side, those who thro' malevolence, inconsiderateness, or revenge, attack Judges, or other
Officers

Officers of the Law, concerning the performing of their duty, with injurious and offensive words or writings, without being able to prove what they have laid to their charge, are to be severely punished, according to the circumstances of each case; in order that turbulent, provoking, and malicious people may fear; and take example from it. No person whatsoever may be kept long in prison before he is try'd and sentenced; and in order that no want or distress may give occasion to bad precedents, and become a false cover and pretence for a Judge's abuse of his office, the money the country people have allowed their Justices and Judges for their appointments, and likewise for the expences allowed towards Quarter Sessions and Circuits*, according to the Act of Assurance of King Gustavus Adolphus, Anno 1611, is never to be applied but to the proper destination, and the supply of the respective Judges, *according to the establishment.* The King's Officers and Fiscals are not to execute their office offensively, or with self-interest; and when it is found they do, they must legally answer for it; and upon this the King's Attorney General ought to have a vigilant eye; to whom it belongs also to

* Lagmans-och Håradshofdinge-Samt Tings-gästnings-penningar.

inspect

inspect how Laws and Public Acts are obey'd; and to give an account of it to the King. The High Courts of Justice are now, as before, to be three; the first at Stockholm, to which belongs the kingdom of Sweden, distinctly so called in the old Law; the second is at Lönköping, and to it belongs the Gothic kingdom; and the third has its seat at Åbo, to which belongs the Great Dutchy of Finland.

§ 16.

All special commissions; deputations, with power to try, and condemn; or extraordinary Courts of Justice, which may be ordered by the King, or the States of the Realm, are after this time abolished, as they are means for promoting despotism and tyranny: and every Swedish man is to enjoy the benefit and justice of being try'd at that court to which he belongs, according to the law of Sweden: But in case it should happen that any of such high birth, or any of the Senators of the Realm, or a whole Board, may have committed any thing, by which the King, the Realm, or the Majesty of the Crown, has been affected; that the criminals cannot be try'd, either by the King's Court of Justice, or the Senate, then a High Court of the Realm is to be establish'd, in which the King himself is; or in
his

his place the next heir to the Crown, or any of the hereditary Princes presides; or the eldest among the Senators: and these have for assistants all the Senators, the Field Marshal, all the presidents of the different Boards of the Realm, four of the oldest Counsellors of Justice, from the three King's Courts of Justice, one General, two senior Lieutenant Generals, two senior Major Generals, the senior Admiral, the two senior Vice Admirals, the two senior Contra Admirals, the Chancellor of the Court, and the three Secretaries of State; the Chancellor of Justice * is always Plaintiff, and the Senior among the Secretaries of Revision is as the Recorder. This Court of Justice, after the trial is over, is to pronounce the sentence with open doors, that nobody afterwards may alter, much less increase it. The King however not being prevented from granting pardon.

§ 17.

Next after the King's Courts of Justice follows the War Office, in which is to be now, as was usual before, a President, the Master of the Ordonance, the Quarter Master General, and the usual Counsellors of War; who must be versed in keep-

* Justitiæ Cancellor.

ing accounts, and be chosen from among those who have knowledge in Military affairs. This Board has inspection and care of the whole Land Forces of the Realm, the Artillery, that is made use of in the Camps and fortify'd places, of the Corps of Ordonance, and Artillery, of Canons, Factories, Arms, Swords, Ammunition, and what belongs to these: the quality of the fortifications, chiefly at the frontiers, castles, and other buildings, for the services of war; of all summonings, pressings, and musterings, &c. according to the Instructions, Acts, and Royal Patents, that already are, or hereafter may be made.

§ 18.

The whole Military body of the kingdom, by land and sea, with its highest officers and subalterns, must make their oath of fidelity and allegiance to the King, the Realm, and the States; according to the form now conceived. The Military, Horse and Foot, as well as establishment of the Sailors, remain as by their settlements; and they may establish contracts, with the Commonalty and Towns, which are exactly to be followed and observed, until the King and the States jointly shall find it necessary to make any alteration concerning them.

§ 19.

§ 19.

A Colonel, or any other of the Military Commanders, may not, without the King's own gracious command, call upon any Soldiers dismissed to their homes, to break up house and march, excepting to the usual regimental and other meetings; unless there should happen an unexpected irruption of an enemy into the kingdom, and then it must immediately be reported to the King; the supreme command of his whole Military power, by land and sea, belonging to the King alone; as it has been the custom in the ancient and happy times, when the kingdom was most glorious.

§ 20.

The third Board of the kingdom is the Board of Admiralty; in which is a President, having for assistants all the present Admirals and Flag Officers: but for the better management of those transactions, there must be for the consultation with his Majesty one Senator, who has served in the Navy, and is experienced in maritime affairs. This Board has the superintendance, care, and management of the naval force of the kingdom, and every thing belonging to it, as well relating to Ships building, fitting them out, and

and providing them with Guns, as procuring of Provisions, raising of Sailors, Diving, and Pilotage, and all other business thereunto belonging; and all other such matters, according to the Instructions, Royal Letters, and Acts, that already are or hereafter shall be issued.

§ 21.

The fourth Board of the kingdom is the Chancery of the Realm, wherein one of the Senators always presides; and has for assistants one or more of the same rank: together with the Chancellor of the Court, Secretaries of State, and the usual Counsellors of the Chancery. By this Board are conceived and projected all Acts, Statutes, and Rescripts, which concern the kingdom in general, or the privileges of single Towns, and private persons: in particular, patents, writings, orders, and commands: to this Board also belong even all Acts of Dyets, and other public meetings, alliances with foreign powers, and conventions of peace with enemies; the proper dispatching of Ambassadors, all ordinary Councils the King holds with the Senate, or those he holds with some of the Senators, and the records that have been kept concerning these; and whatever is issued under the King's own hand and name. This Board is likewise to take
all

all necessary provision and care about the postage in the whole kingdom, and the King's subjacent dominions; so that it be duly administered under the inspection of the Superior director of the post. The Secretaries of State are to take a particular care, and to inspect, that the expresses after his Majesty's decision, and pursuant to the records, be got ready, speedily, properly, and in good order; and be issued without omission of the least article, on any consideration whatsoever. Should any person be so audacious as to make an express, which was contrary to his Majesty's decision; and by this means attempt to surprise his Majesty (which, by the multitude of expresses easily may happen) he shall, after trial and legal condemnation, be dismissed from his place; and, according to the crime, duly punished: and no command hereafter, as till this time, shall therefore be obeyed and followed, that is not provided with due contrafignation: Military matters excepted. For the rest, this Board is to observe the Act, entitled, *Order of the Chancery*; and the Instructions, Letters, and King's Mandamus's; all such as they already have, or hereafter may receive.

§ 22.

The King nominates in Council *, yet

* Sittjande Rad — Sitting Senate.

C

without

without division *, the President in the Chancery, those Counsellors of Chancery that are Senators, the Chancellor to the Court, Law Chancellor, Secretaries of State, Counsellors of Chancery, and first Secretaries to the Secretaries of States departments; and takes those whom he has most in his confidence. This likewise is to be observed as to his Majesty's Ministers at foreign courts.

§ 23.

The 5th Board of the Realm is the Board of the Chamber, where there is a President; and the usual Counsellors of the Chamber. There all those who have concerns with receiving of the public money, and with the public expences take their orders, and give in their accounts; according to such Instructions, Royal Letters, and Commands, as already are, or hereafter may be published. The care, aim, and endeavour of this Board is, that the revenues of the Crown be duly, and in time called in, and augmented; the land well cultivated, managed, and improved by a right œconomy and melioration: That the *Regalia Fisci* may not be secreted, neglected, or lost; but the means of the Crown in every respect improved, adapted to the expences, and kept ready, provided in

* Omröstning.

time, and that the public credit may not be lost; so that his Majesty may, in case of necessity, expect support, assistance, and aid, within and out of the kingdom. The great Sea Custom House, with its income and accounts; as well as the other Custom Houses, and the Excise, under the administration of the superior Director, belong likewise to the inspection and care of the Board of the Chamber; where Patents for Custom House Officers and Collectors are granted, and where all due security is taken for the King.

§ 24.

In the Treasury is a President, with the usual Commissaries of the State. To this belongs the management, and distribution of the treasure of the Crown, where also all those that have them under their hands, are in due time to give in their estimates; as their instructions expressly order and require. The estimate of the State-expendence must yearly, and in time, be regulated; and the establishment of 1696 be taken as the rule, and the ground; and every thing so contrived, that the public officers may have their salaries out of the public finances, and revenues of the Crown. But the said establishment is not to be exceeded, or augmented, unless the service, and the good

of the King, or the kingdom, unavoidably require it. In the estimate is to be not only the certain sum for the King's privy purse, that already is left to his Majesty's own pleasure and disposal; but also yearly a sum assigned to extra expences; which is to be disposed of according to his Majesty's order, underwritten, and duly contra-signed: all after the Instructions, Royal Letters, and Patents, that already are, or hereafter may be issued.

§ 25.

His Majesty nominates in Council, yet without division, the President, and Commissioners of the State; from among those men, who by fidelity and knowledge in the most material businesses, have made themselves worthy of his Majesty's confidence.

§ 26.

The Board of Mines has also a President, and the usual Counsellors of Mines, and Assessors; all these are such, as both by learning and experience have made themselves acquainted with the Law, and acquired the necessary and fundamental knowledge in all things belonging to mineral affairs. This Board has the inspection and care of the keeping up

up the Mines ; and what belongs to their management, conduct, and improvement.

§ 27.

The Board of Trade has likewise a President, and the usual Counsellors of Trade, Assessors and Commissioners, who must have a fundamental knowledge of Commerce, and its intercourse, &c. To this Board it belongs to consider how the Commerce may be strengthened, increased, and improved ; the Manufacturies, trading Corporations and Factories, well contrived, managed, and supported ; and how the Duties of Permission *, the Port Duties †, Custom-house Rates, and Taxes are observed ; and to do what further by Instructions, Royal Letters, and Regulations, is prescribed them, or hereafter shall be directed.

§ 28.

The Chamber of Revision of the Finances likewise requires a President, who, with the usual Assessors, provides not only that the law-suits brought before that Board are speedily, by legal sentences and resolutions, finished, and carried into execution, by the

* Licent.

† Portorie.

proper officers * ; but also, that the yearly crown accounts, without loss of time, as soon as they are delivered to the Board of the Chamber, (§23) and as the Chamber of Revision has received due notice of them, may be look'd over, explained, finished, and finally settled. All this, according to the Instructions, Royal Letters, and Acts, already issued, and which hereafter shall be issued.

§ 29.

The High Marshal, or Marshal of the Realm, is to be one of the Senators of the kingdom ; he takes care of the King's Court, Palaces and Houses, superintends, orders, and regulates, whatever concerns his table and servants, and all belonging to the Household.

§ 30.

His Majesty's Court is solely under his own disposal; his Majesty alone having power to alter, set to right, and amend, as he there finds needful.

§ 31.

The Grand Governor in Stockholm; the

* Fiscalerne.

Captain

Captain Lieutenant, the Lieutenants and the Quartermaster of the Gentlemens Guard*; the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the Foot Guards; the Colonel of the Horse Guards; the Colonel of the King's Dragoons; the Colonel and the Lieutenant Colonel of the Artillery; the Adjutants General; and the Commandants of the fortified frontier towns, are places of trust, to which his Majesty appoints, and dismisses in Council; tho' without a division.

§ 32.

All the Boards of the Realm must lend one another mutually their hands for their several assistance, in any thing that tends to the good or benefit of the King, and the kingdom; when it is needful, and is desired: but they are not to make encroachments, hindrance, or damage, one upon another; but every one to manage their own business with the requisite spirit, due care, diligence, fidelity, and prudence. As long as the Presidents are at their Boards, they are to use a becoming power and authority; but if these happen to be absent on the King's, or their own business, they are still to keep their title of respect, with the honour and emolu-

* Drabants.

ments depending on it; but they may by no means direct and command any thing which belongs to the office of Presidents, until they are return'd, and enter'd again into the real exercise of their employment. In the mean time the eldest member of the Board performs and transacts all the common business, with the same right, power and efficacy, as are annexed to the place. These Boards are bound to account to the King for their actions, when he requires it from them; and to him only are answerable for the proper management of their business.

§ 33.

The country administration consists of the accustomed governments, just as they stand at present: for hereafter there can be no Governor General within the kingdom; if not in particular circumstances, or only for a certain limited time; nor any grants for life *, manor, or feud, be given: and they are consequently to be distributed in the order they now are; and after the Form of Government of the year 1720.

§ 34.

The Hereditary Prince of Sweden, and the Swedish Princes of the Blood, are not to have any grant for life, or General

* Lif-gedinge.

Government; but are to be contented with that support in money, which the establishment affords; and which must for the Hereditary Princes, not be under one hundred thousand dalers, silver money; from the day they have been declared of age; which is at the age of twenty-one years. The Swedish Princes of the Blood, which are more distant from the Crown, receive yearly a sum of money for their maintenance; which is adapted and becoming their birth; yet they may be dignified with titles of Dukedoms and Principalities, according to ancient customs; but without any jurisdiction within those Provinces the name of which they bear; which always must remain collected under one Head and Regent, without diminution or dismembering.

§ 35.

In regard to the maintenance of the immediate heir to the Crown, (who always is the reigning King's eldest Son, or Grand Son, in a right descendant line,) it is to be settled in the order and manner as the maintenance of our now reigning, most gracious King Gustavus III. Son to his late Majesty King Adolph Frederic, was established and settled: and the Prince is to be admitted into his Majesty's Council Chamber when he has compleated eighteen years.

§ 36.

§ 36.

No Swedish Prince if immediate heir to the Crown, Hereditary Prince, or other Prince of the Blood, can marry without the King's knowledge and consent: should he infringe this, he will be regarded as the Swedish law directs; and his children be disinherited.

§ 37.

If the King be ill; or gone upon a long journey, the Government is carried on by the Senators of the Realm, whom the King appoints thereto: but in case his Majesty should be so suddenly overtaken by illness, that he cannot transact the business of the State; then the expresses are to be signed by the four senior Senators, and the President in Chancery; which five conjointly exercise the King's power in all those affairs which require a speedy transaction. But no places can be disposed of, or alliances concluded, before his Majesty is enough recovered in his health to employ himself again about the business of the State: and these five are then answerable to his Majesty for the course of their administration. If the King be dead, and the next heir to the crown of tender years, and under age, the public transactions are then to be administered in the before-mentioned

tioned manner, and the places ad interim given away, unless the late King has made a testamentary disposition: in which case it is to be according to the King's testament.

§ 38.

The States of the Realm must not refrain from assembling themselves when they are call'd by his Majesty to the place and the time, which is signified to them, in order to consult with the King about the business, for which his Majesty has called them together: and none must, for any reason whatsoever, have power to call the States of the Realm to a public Dyet, but his Majesty only: excepting in case of the King's being under age, when his Guardians exercise this prerogative. But if the Throne should become vacant by the extinction of the whole Royal Family on the male line, (from which dreadful event may it please the Almighty to exempt us) the States of the Realm are then bound, without any summons, of themselves to repair to Stockholm, on the 30th day after the late King's demise, according as our convention of the 23d of June 1743 mentions; stipulating at the same time the punishment any one shall suffer, who, on this occasion, should attempt by machinations, or conspiracies, to incroach upon the free choice of the States. At
such

such an unhappy event the trustees of the House of Nobles, the Chapter of Canons at Upsal, and the Court of City Magistrates, at Stockholm, must immediately make it publicly known throughout the country to every one it concerns : and as the Governors then are bound each in his place to acquaint those who live and reside in their Government of the King's demise ; so many within the prescribed time may be able to repair thither, that the liberty of the Realm may be protected and defended by them ; and a new Royal Family elected.

§ 39.

The States of the Realm are to leave with faithful tenderness, entirely inviolate, all kingly right, as the Swedish law describes, in full power and authority ; and whatever in that manner belongs to the Royal prerogative, they are to manage, defend, and strengthen with zeal, care, and attention ; and therefore they are not to amend, alter, increase, or diminish any thing of these fundamental laws, without the joint advice and approbation of the King, so that nothing unlawful shall supersede the right law : nor the liberty of the Subjects, or the King's prerogatives be mismanaged, or oppress'd ; but all persons may enjoy their legal rights and justly acquired privileges ; all other statutes
from

from the year 1680, which until the present time have been received as fundamental laws, being hereby repealed and abolished.

§ 40.

The King may not make a new law without the knowledge and consent of the States, or repeal an old one.

§ 41.

The States may not repeal any old law, or make a new law, without the King's assent and consent.

§ 42.

When any new law is to be made, what follows is to be observed : If it be the States of the Realm who wish it, then they are first to consider upon it among themselves ; and when they have agreed, the proposed law is to be delivered to his Majesty, by their four Speakers ; to obtain his Majesty's opinion upon it. His Majesty then consults the Senators, and takes their advice ; and after he himself has considered their opinions, and taken his own resolution, he summons the States to the Great Hall of the Realm, and communicates to them in a short Speech,
his

his assent and consent; or the reasons, for which he cannot consent to it. If again his Majesty would propose any new law; then he is to communicate it first to the Senators of the Realm; and after they have delivered their opinions at the Record, then it is to be presented to the States of the Realm: who, after they have considered the law, and agreed among themselves, are to desire a day, to give their consent to his Majesty, in the Great Hall of the Realm: but should they resolve on a refusal, then they are to deliver it in writing; with their reasons, by their four Speakers.

§ 43.

If it should happen that a new question of law arise, which the records of former times do not sufficiently decide, it is to be determin'd in the same manner as the 42d § here above settles.

§ 44.

It remains always the single and proper right of the Crown, and a prerogative belonging to it, to coin money: yet the States reserve to themselves that if any increase or diminution in the specie should be obtained or intended, such alterations may
not

not be made without their knowledge and consent.

§ 45.

His Majesty is to secure and keep up the peace of the Realm, and particularly from foreign and hostile violence : but he may not against law, his royal oath, and assurance, lay upon the Subjects, any war taxes, or new taxes, supplies of money, and men, or other duties, without the knowledge, free will, and consent of the States ; yet excepting the unfortunate possible event that the kingdom should be attacked with arms : in such case his Majesty has a right to take those measures and steps which are conformable to the safety of the kingdom, and the benefit of the subjects : but as soon as the war is ended, the States must assemble, and the new imposts which have been established, for the carrying on of the war, immediately cease.

§ 46.

The Assemblies of the States of the Realm are not to last longer than three months at the utmost ; and in order that the country may not be charged with long Dyets, as heretofore has happened, his Majesty may at that time dissolve the Dyet, and dismiss all
home

home to their countries: and if in such case no new taxations should have been established, all must remain as before.

§ 47.

The States of the Realm have power to nominate those who are to compose the Committee with whom his Majesty shall consult about those transactions which appear to him to require secrecy: and those persons are invested with all the rights which the States themselves have: but all matters not requiring secrecy, are to be communicated to the Plena of the States, and refer'd to their deliberations.

§ 48.

The King may not begin war or hostilities without the assent and consent of the States of the Realm.

§ 49.

No other records of papers but such as belong to those matters, about which his Majesty deliberates with the States of the Realm, may be delivered up to them, or required by them.

§ 50.

The State of the nation is to be produced
to

to the Committee of the States, in order that they may know how the public money has been employed, for the benefit and use of the Realm.

§ 51.

If any member of the Dyet should innocently be assaulted; or ill used, in words or deeds; in his journey to or from the Dyet, after having signified his being on such business; it shall be punished with the pains of Felony.

§ 52.

His Majesty will preserve to all the States of the Realm their justly acquired privileges, emoluments, rights, and liberties. No new privileges belonging to one single order are to be granted, and given, without the knowledge, consideration, and consent of all the four States of the Realm.

§ 53.

His Majesty alone takes gracious care of the German Provinces of Sweden; that they may be ruled according to the laws of the German Empire, their justly acquired privileges, and the contents of the Westphalian peace.

§ 54.

The towns in the kingdom remain with their justly acquired privileges and rights, which have been given or granted to them by former Kings; yet so, that they may be best adapted to service, according to the circumstances of the time, and the public good, and benefit.

§ 55.

The Bank of the States of the Realm remains for the future, as it has been to this time; under their own guaranty and care: and shall be administered according to those regulations and statutes, which already are made, or further may be made by the States.

§ 56.

The Pension Fund for the army remains under the regulations, which already have been established; or such as his Majesty shall be pleased to agree upon with his trusty and faithful military deputies; and the representatives of the levied army.

§ 57.

If any uncertainty should be found in this law, the literal contents are to be the
rule

rule to go by, until his Majesty and the States can agree in the manner, as is prescribed in the 39th and 42d §.

ALL this, we here at this time assembled, States of the Realm, have found necessary, for the orderly government of the kingdom, for our liberty and security, for ourselves, and our Brethren at home, and for posterity, as well born as unborn, to establish. We declare anew hereby, that we have the greatest abhorrence for arbitrary kingly power, or the so called Sovereignty; regarding as our greatest happiness, honor and advantage, to be, and live, free and independent; legislative, but legally obedient States; under a King, vested with a power, bound by the law: both being joined and protected under the law; which saves us and our dear Parent Country from the perils which turbulence, licentiousness, despotism, aristocracy, and a multitude of rulers create; to the misfortune of the whole commonwealth, and the heavy distress and damage of every fellow-citizen. We rest the more assured of an orderly, legal, and happy Government, as his Majesty already has declared, he considers it as his greatest

honor to be the first citizen among a free people : and we hope, that such a purpose will be propagated throughout the Royal Family, from generation to generation, till the latest times of the world. Therefore we likewise declare him an enemy to us, and the Realm, who shall inconsiderately, imprudently, and with evil mind, secretly, or evidently, through cunning, machinations, or open violence, attempt to lead us from this law, and intrude upon us an arbitrary kingly power, or the so called Sovereignty : or who, under appearance of Liberty, would destroy these laws ; which, while they fortify a true and useful Freedom, keep out licentiousness and confusion : all such are to be prosecuted without lenity, or pity, according to the established Swedish law. We will likewise, conformably to the duty of our oaths of allegiance, and to this Form of Government, pay his Majesty true obedience ; execute his orders in any thing which can be answer'd before God and men ; he to command, and we to obey, to fulfil and preserve all rights, both his and ours, as it is fit, and becomes faithful men, and good subjects.

For greater authority, we have established

lished and fortified; and do establish and confirm this, by the signature of our names, and the impressure of our seals; which was done at Stockholm, the 21st day of the month of August, the year after the birth of Christ our Saviour 1772.

For the Order of
Nobility.
A. G. Leyonhufvud,
Speaker.
Marshal of the Dyet.
(L. S.)

For the Order of the Clergy.
And. H. Forssenius,
Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Order of the
Burghers.
Joh. Henr.
Hochschild,
in the Place of the
Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Order of the
Peasants.
Joseph Hansson,
Speaker.
(L. S.)

All this, as it is contained above, WE will not only Ourselves accept as an established fundamental law; but also establish and order most graciously, that all those who are bound to Us, and OUR Successors, in faith, obedience, and duty, are to acknowledge, observe, follow, and obey this Form of Government. For further authority, WE have with OUR own hand, subscribed and confirmed this; and with OUR know-

ledge, caused to be affixed, Our Royal Seal here beneath, which was done the twenty-first day of the month of August, in the year after the birth of Christ 1772.

GUSTAVUS.

HIS MAJESTY'S
GRACIOUS ASSURANCE

Given to his faithful SUBJECTS,

All the STATES of SWEDEN,

At the Great Hall of the Realm, *August 21, 1772.*

BY the grace of God, GUSTAVUS King of Sweden, Gothia and Wandalia, Heir to Norway, Duke of Schlesswig-Holstein, Stormain and Ditmarschen, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, &c. Be it known, That whereas the wonderful Providence of God has so ordered, that the licentiousness, which thro' the course of many years, has been prevalent in this kingdom, and was founded upon a contempt of the laws, has been eradicated to the very ground; the antient Swedish liberty revived; and the former Swedish laws
such

such as they were before the year 1680, restor'd in their most substantial parts, by a new fundamental law ; We therefore do most earnestly declare by this, that We will govern and rule this kingdom after the now receiv'd fundamental law ; renouncing hereby, as We already have done, the hated, unlimited kingly power, or the so called Sovereignty *, and esteeming as Our greatest glory, to be the first citizen among a truly free people ; all which, as We have resolved on it, unforced and unconstrained, with a free-will and well considered determination ; so We confirm with Our proper signature and personal oath, to follow and fulfil it all :
 SO HELP ME GOD, IN LIFE AND SOUL.
 Stockholm, *August 21, 1772.*

G U S T A V U S :

* The term SOVEREIGNTY in Sweden always expresses Arbitrary Rule.

HIS MAJESTY'S
SPEECH to the STATES,

In the Great Hall of the Realm, *August* 25, 1772.

IT is with the highest acknowledgment of the favour of the Almighty, that I address myself to you this day; with that confidence and that antient Swedish simplicity which was in use in the time of my Ancestors.

After so many shocks, after so many differences of opinion, we all have now only one common aim, the good of the Realm. This requires that the present Assembly of the State, which has now subsisted fourteen months, be soon terminated: with that purpose, I have reduced my Proposals * to you, as much as possible.

* Kongl. Majt^{ts} Nålīga proposition. In Sweden the King proposes to the Dyet the business of the State.

The exigences are great; but they are alone those of the kingdom: and on my part frugality shall not be wanting. Mutual confidence and concord in your deliberations will be the most proper way to take salutary resolutions; and what you allow me, shall only be employed to your own good.

THE KING'S GRACIOUS PROPOSALS

Delivered to the States of the Realm, *August 25,*
1772.

SINCE by Divine Providence the transactions of Government have taken such a turn, that no impediment can thence arise against the speedy closing of the Dyet; yet the States of the Realm neither would, nor could separate, before care had been taken of his Majesty, and the kingdom, by that support, which the general œconomy in all its branches requires; his Majesty has found necessary, graciously to lay before the States of the Realm for their consideration, the following points, viz.

1. That

1. That the States agree, and settle all concerning the public grants.

2. That, according to ancient precedents, and to the law of the kingdom, funeral and coronation expences are to be found, and enter'd in the Treasury; under their distinct denominations.

3. As his Majesty cannot know the extent of these two articles, and how far the other appropriated sums will be sufficient for the wants of the kingdom in these times; his Majesty graciously desires the States of the Realm, to appoint certain persons among the three Orders which regulate the business of the Bank, according to the 47th Article of the Form of Government; with whom his Majesty may confer concerning the means, which in such a case might be procured, and which require some secrecy.

4. That the States of the Realm, by the regulations they are taking about THEIR BANK, do put it in such order, that it may (the sooner, the better) contribute towards re-inflating money, and the course of circulation, into its proper channel.

The States of the Realm will agree with his Majesty, that the situation of the kingdom requires, and the wish of the whole
kingdom

kingdom is, that this Dyet, which now has lasted about fourteen months, with great expence to the country, may speedily be discontinued: Therefore, and as his Majesty has much at heart, particularly during the present hard times, to afford relief to his loyal subjects, in this regard; his Majesty's gracious will is, that the States of the Realm do take these points under so speedy a deliberation, that his Majesty, within a fortnight at most, may receive the humble opinion of the States concerning them; during which time the States will have also an opportunity of forming the (so called) • Decision of the Dyet.

T O H I S M A J E S T Y.

The S P E E C H of the

M A R S H A L O F T H E D Y E T,

B A R O N A X E L G A B R I E L L E Y O N H U F V U D,

In the Name of all the States, when they delivered their most humble Answer to his Majesty's most gracious Proposals of the 25th of *August*, in the Great Hall, *Sept. 7, 1772.*

Most gracious King!

Y O U R Majesty's loyal States, animated with the most perfect and submissive reverence, and affected by the most joyful sen-

* Rickfids bestutet.

sations,

sations, have now, upon your Majesty's most gracious command, the invaluable happiness again to find themselves assembled before the Throne; to deliver to your Majesty, by us, their Speakers, their most submissive answer unto the gracious propositions your Majesty has graciously been pleased to leave to their consideration and determination.

— And concerning the first point, relating to the subsidies in general, as well as the coronation, and funeral supplies, the States of the Realm, animated with the warmest zeal and desire to support your Majesty and the country, to the utmost of their power, have most humbly chosen such methods of raising them throughout the whole kingdom, as your Majesty will graciously perceive by the present express; regulated upon the same plan with the Act of Subsidies of the year 1769, with some very small alterations.

Respecting further, your Majesty's most gracious proposition concerning the Finances and pecuniary affairs of the kingdom, the States of the Realm have thought they should go in the securest, and at the same time, the most desirable way, when they presume to refer this matter, of so great a consequence to the kingdom, to your Majesty's superior judgment and gracious regulations, and flatter themselves with the most humble and
most

most joyful hope, that your Majesty will be pleased to look upon this, as well as on all their other faithful endeavours, with your Royal grace and satisfaction ; to which end, in the name of the States, I now humbly deliver to your Majesty, all the Acts relating to these matters ; with all that belongs to this object, with due submission.

And as your Majesty most graciously has ordered, that a Committee might be selected out of the States, which may have the favour humbly to deliberate with your Majesty during the present Dyet, upon those matters which require secrecy, when it shall please your Majesty so to command ; therefore the States do likewise, with all submission, acquaint your Majesty, that they, on these important transactions, have continued in their confidence the same persons, to whom, from the beginning of the Dyet, they have entrusted the affairs of the Bank, and the Finances : and, for the rest, they wait your Majesty's farther gracious commands.

The States most submissively recommend themselves to your Majesty's Royal grace and

S P E E C H

SPEECH of the KING of *Sweden*

To the S T A T E S,

At the Closing of the Dyet, *September 9, 1772:*

DISSOLVING, To-day, this Assembly of the States, which assuredly will stand recorded among the most important in our annals, I close it with a repeated, and new felt gratitude to the hand of the Most High; who has defended in so eminent a manner, this our Parent Country; and dissipated those heavy clouds which threatened Liberty, and my People, with the most extream destruction. This Dyet began in mourning, and the tenderest distress; bereaved of an affectionate King, and a most beloved Father: Your deliberations were continued, under the influence of discord, and party hatred: and it seem'd, as if the Divine Providence would suffer all the misfortunes, felt by our Forefathers, now to arise to their extreamest height; that

that it might shew its powerful hand, exerted in the change which now has happened; with more distinguished strength, and efficacy.

A revolution perfectly happy; conducted only by the Almighty Providence, has at once clos'd, and united, those many breaches, which had, for more than a whole century, shook the fabrick of the kingdom: and by that union has made, of a divided nation; a free, a powerful, an unanimous, an independent people; zealous for their country's good, and careful of its proper interests. In such a state is the kingdom now delivered up by you into my hands: liberty is confirmed; the laws are fixed; and concord is once more re-establish'd among you.

'Tis easy for you to conceive the tender sensations with which I now behold you, assembled before the throne. The few days that have pass'd since this important change has been establish'd, have given me the most abundant, and the most affecting proofs of your love; and your unbounded confidence in me: I have seen those virtues revive in your hearts, and those great qualities shine forth in your actions, with which your ancestors honoured their periods: virtues which all the while had lain conceal'd in your hearts; and which the condition of the times has now again disclos'd.

That vigour, that unalienable attachment to King and Country, for which the Swedish nobility have for ages been distinguished, has at this time shone forth again; and given me its effectual support.

In the Order of Clergy are revived, submission to the decrees of the Most High; and zeal for his honour: obedience to the government; and a tender love for concord; and the publick good. Cultivate these sentiments with the strictest care among your brethren:

The zeal and care of the House of Burghers for preserving the commerce, and the dignity of the kingdom, have again disclos'd themselves; as soon as their real good, their well-being, and prosperity, have been permitted to make a stronger impression upon them.

In the Order of Peasants a reverence for God and government has also appeared: As soon as they were left to themselves, they consulted nothing but that love for their country, which has at all times been the character of the Swedish husbandmen.

I part with you To-day therefore with the most joyful, and the most grateful heart: since you have, with me, reviv'd the antient Swedish liberty; settled it on ground never to be shaken; and established a form of government, which promotes it: since you,
united

united with me by the strongest ties, may look forward to succeeding happier ages. My care, and my endeavours, I assure you, shall be unlimited, in answer to your confidence: and while you, by an union among yourselves, by wise œconomy, and moderation, support my endeavours for the general good, the improvement of the kingdom will be sure; and my hope accomplish'd, that I may, at the end of six years receive you here again, in peace and in tranquility; a loyal, happy, and united, a free and independent, and a generous people.

I wish you now a happy return to your several Provinces: and I remain to all, and every one, affectionate, with all kingly grace and favour.

T O H I S M A J E S T Y.

The humble S P E E C H of the

M A R S H A L of the D Y E T,
BARON AXEL GABRIEL LEYONHUFVUD,

In the Great Hall of the Realm, on the 9th of
September, 1772.

Most gracious Sovereign!

IT was with sensations of the highest reverence and the most perfect joy that the Nobility declared to your Majesty in this,
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room,

room, at the beginning of the Dyet, their submissive zeal and unalterable loyalty. It is with no less pure, and with inexpressible satisfaction, that they now renew before your Majesty's Throne, their humble assurances of their truly known, and always preserved sentiments, concerning the sacred, revered, and beloved person of your Majesty. The Nobility have, during the whole course of this Dyet, plac'd in open day, their tender concern, to watch over your Majesty's high rights: well knowing that a Swedish Nobility, separated from the interest of the Throne, might then easily forget their obligations also to the Realm, their Parent Country; with respect to their own Order, and to their Posterity. The Nobility have therefore also unconstrain'd on their part, concurred in all the means and expedients your Majesty most judiciously and most patriotically, has been pleas'd to take to save the Realm; and at once, to establish its self-subsistence.

There now remains for the Nobility at the close of this Dyet, nothing more than ardently to pray that the Almighty may graciously protect, and long preserve in kingly happiness your Majesty's honoured person. The Nobility will then, jointly with the whole kingdom, be blessed with the most frequent opportunities, to esteem themselves, and all of us, happy, who may be ordain'd to live during

ing your Majesty's most glorious reign; and to contribute their part towards the further dignity and support of your Majesty's glorious Government.

The Nobility humbly request also at this time, permission to express, by your Majesty's favour, their submissive good wishes for those high persons of the Royal Family, who this day are absent; offering the most ardent prayers to the Almighty for their permanent happiness! May her Majesty the Queen still further remain an object of your Majesty's tenderness and domestic happiness; as her Majesty is, by her most exalted qualities, so distinguished an ornament to your Majesty's Throne! Long may your Majesty, with your Royal Mother, her Majesty the Queen Dowager, share that mutual comfort which great souls only feel in the execution of high and beneficial achievements! May his Royal Highness Prince Charles always emulate the best Princes in Europe; in the glory of honouring and defending his country; as may also her Highness the Princess Royal, who, by the most shining qualities, already has acquired a name amongst the eminent Princesses of our time.

The Nobility most submissively recommend themselves to your Majesty's gracious favour and protection.

TO HIS MAJESTY.

The humble **SPEECH** of the
SPEAKER OF THE ORDER OF THE CLERGY,
DR. ANDREAS FORSSENIUS,
BISHOP OF SCARA;

At the Closing of the Dyet, in the Great Hall
 of the Realm, the 9th of *September*, 1772.

Most gracious Sovereign!

NOW, that in submissive obedience to
 your Majesty's most gracious com-
 mands, the Order of the Clergy are for the
 last time under this Dyet, assembled be-
 fore your Majesty's Throne; their hearts are
 filled with such sentiments of reverence, loyal
 zeal, and gratitude, as no mortal tongue, and
 mine the least, can with a due dignity ex-
 press.

If this Dyet comprehends a point of time,
 which, in the Swedish history, will be as re-
 markable as any it records; every attentive
 man ought to see in it the hand of the Al-
 mighty; and contemplate his high views
 with a holy reverence.

O T

Every

Every form of Government has its impression of human nature ; and must be imperfect, uncertain, and changeable ; and must have its beginning, its maturity, and its fall.

But as man, by an irregular manner of living, may himself shorten his life, so a nation, by abuse of its constitution, may hasten its own destruction. Happy that people, who, on such a change, preserve that liberty, which is the soul of civil society !

Happy the Swedish people ! who can look upon your Majesty as a blessed instrument in the hand of the Almighty, to free the real Swedish liberty from what has tortur'd, alter'd, and debas'd it. Happy Swedish States, which, notwithstanding such a change, yet with the same liberty and security, take leave of their gracious King, as they presented themselves before him.

Most remarkable Assembly ! in which the States not only have changed their tears of sorrow at the grave of a beloved King, to tears of joy at the throne of a native Sovereign ; who, at an earlier time than the human capacity usually admits, has accomplished the great hope his native country had formed upon him, from the hour of his birth : but even before they separate, have seen the Swedish Crown upon his head re-

gain its former lustre : since those clouds, which were gathered by the occurrences of the times, and which threatened to darken it, have been so wisely dissipated by your Majesty ; not with terrible and destructive lightnings ; but with the smiling rays of favour, shining from their heavenly origin.

The Order of the Clergy esteem themselves happy to have been witness to a great work ; the execution of which the Omnipotent had decreed for your Majesty. In the mean time that Providence had also resolved to shew favour and mercy to our oppressed kingdom ; that the great disorders of the body of the Realm should be remedied before they had time entirely to overthrow, and destroy it.

Blessed be your Majesty, who several times have taken pains to restore peace, quiet, and concord among minds, which were divided and inflam'd ; and grant Heaven that the dreadful discord throughout the limits of Sweden may be so totally suppressed, that it never more may dare to raise its head, to bring upon us the merited strokes of the scourge of the Almighty's wrath !

Blessed be your Majesty in every thing that your Majesty now farther intends to undertake,

undertake, in the pursuit of the great work thus begun, in the name of God, for preserving, saving, and elevating of this kingdom; that your Majesty may not in vain sacrifice yourself for a people whose fidelity and love have been inherited by your Majesty, with the Crown itself.

The members of the Order of the Clergy now separate, contented, and rejoic'd at what they have seen done by the Lord himself. They hasten to proclaim among their brethren and hearers, the praise of God, and of the King. They will not only declare throughout the land, that your Majesty has not barely offer'd, but even in fact, and beyond expectation, in reality, exposed your sacred person, to be a blessed uniting tie between your subjects. They will comfort the fellow-citizen, oppressed by poverty and distress, with the glad hope of better times; which hope has never been so well founded as now; when the great Gustavus has adopted among his Royal titles, to be the first citizen among a free people. They will prostrate themselves assiduouſly before the Throne of the Celestial King, with the most earnest prayers for your Majesty, and the whole Royal Family; that your Majesty never may want that celestial support which is required to wear for a long time, the Crown which your Majesty, by a warm love to the native country,

try, has been pleased yourself to make more weighty than when your Majesty received it. Yea, by the grace of God, they will in every respect also, be careful in the administration of their employments, to promote your Majesty's intentions; because they know that they then rightly serve their Lord in Heaven, and attend to the good of his church.

With a most loyal zeal, the Order of the Clergy finally beseech, always to remain in your Majesty's precious grace and favour.

TO HIS MAJESTY.

The humble SPEECH of the

SPEAKER OF THE ORDER OF THE BURGHERS,
MR. CHARLES FRIEDRIH SEBALDT,

Chancellor of Justice, and Burger-Master of Stockholm;

In the Great Hall of the Realm, at the Closing
of the Dyet, *September the 9th, 1772.*

Most gracious Sovereign!

THE Order of the Burgers, assembled before your Majesty's Throne, now, at the end of this happily conducted Dyet, deliver

deliver their submissive reverence and acknowledgements.

A point of time has occurred under this meeting of the States, from which, the restoration, strength, and self-subsistence of the kingdom of Sweden may account a new *Æra*.

Your Majesty has, on your first ascent to the Throne, settled the foundations of the Government: Tenderneſs for the good of the ſubjects; a warm deſire to make the kingdom happy, and prosperous; and your Ma-jeſty's wiſh to follow unincumber'd, the praiſe-worthy examples of your anceſtors, have directed your Majeſty's prudent ſteps on the road of glory: and the affection of your Majeſty's ſubjects confirms equally with their oath and duty, your Majeſty's royal power and authority.

Your Majeſty's great qualities, proved virtue, and diſtinguiſhed love to our Parent Country, might render a form of Government unneceſſary and ſuperfluous; but your Majeſty has even wiſely thought on future times; and the nation promiſes itſelf, under the ſceptre of the Vaſa's, an abundant ſtore of bleſſings and happineſs.

May

May the Almighty God make your Majesty's reign long and happy!

May peace give the fruits of peace!

May liberty, the right and property of mankind, be preserved by the law; and protected under your Majesty's sceptre!

May licentiousness be forgotten without regret, and virtue again resume her true dominion!

May union and mutual concord promote the true welfare of the subject; and support the dignity of the Realm, and its ancient splendor!

May discord and dissensions, which have disturbed our quiet, be for ever banished from all Swedish breasts!

May obedience to the laws support the purpose of good laws!

May diligence and industry render us thriving subjects!

May the welfare of the subjects be your Majesty's greatest pleasure! and the self-support of the kingdom your Majesty's glory!

May

May a serious piety be the first purpose
of all the inhabitants; and the blessings
attending it, the happy lot of the
whole country!

The Order of the Burghers most hum-
bly, now and always, recommend
themselves to your Majesty's gracious
favour.

TO HIS MAJESTY.

The most humble SPEECH of

J O S E P H H A N S O N,

SPEAKER OF THE ORDER OF PEASANTS;

In the Great Hall of the Realm, *September* the
9th, 1772.

Most gracious Sovereign!

NOW, that upon your Majesty's gracious
summons, the Order of the Peasants,
with the deepest submission, have leave to ap-
proach your Majesty's Throne, at the closing
of this long, and in its event most fortunate
Assembly of the States, they remind them-
selves, with a most lively and loyal reverence,
that the kingdom was at the very brink of its
fall;

fall, and how it has been saved by your Majesty's tender care and zealous protection; how the balance, till now wanted, in the constitution of the Government, has been restored, and how the antient Swedish liberty and independency have been again revived. A great event perfecting the earnest wishes of the Swedish People, and which raises the admiration of the whole world!

Most gracious King!

Words are wanting to express in a due manner the submissive reverence and zealous affections of this Order; and of their fellow-citizens at home.

The Order of Peasants therefore think they fulfil the wishes of their brethren, in the most becoming manner, when they most submissively prostrate before your Majesty's Throne, true honest Swedish hearts; as the most valuable property, to which your Majesty, by zeal, steadiness and love for our Parent Country, has render'd yourself intitled. As thus the fetters which have bound free citizens, have now been loosed; as the antient proper freedom and security of Swedish men have been confirm'd, and as a foundation is laid, that the Realm may recover in time its antient splendor and dignity. The time is come to begin a new period, which enlivens the industrious, but till now
 2 oppressed

oppressed labourer; which redresses and gives spirit to trading professions, which were fallen into confusion and decay; which encourages every subject to the love of his King and country, and to obedience to the law; and which will secure the welfare and independency of the kingdom.

May the Almighty prolong your Majesty's days to the greatest extent of human life; and maintain your Majesty, and your august Royal Family, in health, and all the happiness that can be desired.

The Order of the Peasants do most submissively recommend themselves to your Majesty's favour and paternal attention.

TO THE NOBILITY.

The SPEECH of the

MARSHAL of the DYET,

BARON AXEL GABRIEL LEYONHUEFVUD,

At the Expiration of his Office, in the House of Nobles, *September the 9th, 1772.*

My Lords, Counts, Barons, and Nobility of Sweden!

HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN,

IN a happy hour, the moment is at hand, when the Nobility, with the other Orders of the kingdom, are to put a period to

to this long-continued Assembly of the Realm.

As we have now, in fulfilling this, Gentlemen, our last meeting, as an Order of the State, assuredly we ought first, with the deepest reverence in our hearts, to present the offerings of our joyful praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty Providence, which has been pleased to take a paternal, and at the same time a most effectual care of us and of the Realm; and this under the prospect of the most horrid times, which ever could threaten our Parent Country.

Who is there among us but must feel the value of those blessings we have receiv'd; and the duty which binds us all to gratitude?

We have seen the Crown fix'd upon the head of a great King: We have receiv'd from the hands of the same King, and by oath confirm'd, a new form of Government: We have been allow'd, according to our abilities, to contribute towards the necessities of the kingdom; and now we may, in agreeable time, separate, and return every one to his home.

We do not return with dubious minds, or anxious hearts; for now the kingdom is preserv'd, the King's legal power establish'd, concord

concord reviv'd, obedience to the law every where again restor'd, and with it, public and private security.

A GUSTAVUS now again fills the Swedish Throne, with sentiments which presage great actions; and with a heart which insures a mild, just and happy Government.

What a period, Gentlemen! And as the Swedish Nobility do not as yet degenerate from their illustrious Ancestors, who supported the former immortal GUSTAVUS's to save and elevate the Realm; they probably will not want opportunities hereafter, under GUSTAVUS III. faithfully to follow their King in the path he now so heroically treads, when he claims their assistance for the country; and by that to gain for their Order, as the first in the kingdom, that honor, which has belonged to us from antient times, by the preference which our deserts toward the Realm have acquired. As our minds now are, and remain united with the King and the Parent Country; it would certainly be needless to mention any thing further of what the Nobility of the Swedish Realm during the Æra of GUSTAVUS III. have to perform and fulfil.

It remains for me only to testify to the Nobility, my respect and most sincere obligations for the confidence and favour, of which, in this place, among you, honourable

Gentlemen, I have had repeated proofs and agreeable testimonies, God is my witness, that often my heart, during the past troublesome deliberations, has been distress'd to the utmost, for the event of the public transactions; but it is now perfectly at ease, as concord, confidence and peace have been effectual to quiet the former storms. It is therefore with an heart-felt satisfaction I now have the honour to resign the office of Marshal of the Dyet; which I hitherto have held; and which I have administered to the best of my knowledge and conscience. May this glorious staff, which now is to be deliver'd up to his Majesty's gracious care, always become equally respectable in those worthy hands, to which it hereafter may be intrusted; and never be made heavy by the misfortunes of the times, and the boundless passions of private persons!

My zeal for the dignity of the Nobility, and my best wishes for every one of the Members of this Noble House, shall follow me in my retreat; and in this breast never shall cease to glow.

I finally beg leave to request for myself the inestimable favour of the Nobility, during the remainder of my days.

F I N I S.